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30 December 1988

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**THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES (CPP)
AND
THE NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY (NPA):
AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY**

434th Military Intelligence Detachment (Strategic)

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Final Report

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NOTICES

Research on this bibliography was completed in June 1988.

DISCLAIMER

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COMMENTS

Comments pertaining to this report are invited and should be forwarded to: Director, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA 17013-5050.

FOREWORD

This bibliography was prepared as the 1988 training project of the 434th Military Intelligence Detachment (Strategic), a U.S. Army Reserve unit, in conjunction with analysts at the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI), United States Army War College (USAWC). The purpose of the bibliography is to provide a comprehensive collection of references on the Philippines for researchers interested in the recent history of this important area of the world.

Special emphasis has been placed on the selection of sources dealing with the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the New People's Army (NPA). These articles have been specifically selected to provide the military planner/analyst with an accurate assessment of the scope and nature of the insurgency in the Philippines as well as the ramifications of that insurgency for the military options facing the United States in the Pacific Basin.

Readers will note that there are two sets of materials listed in this bibliography. Part I consists of an annotated bibliography ordered alphabetically by author or title. Part II lists the same materials by topic which allows the reader to select entries according to their subject matter. An index of topic categories is contained on page iv.

The 434th Military Intelligence Detachment (Strategic) uses personal computers to store, process and disseminate information produced by its analysts. This bibliography is currently available in machine-readable form on 5.25 inch IBM format diskettes. These diskettes may be requested from the Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013-5050, ATTN: USAR Advisor.

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PART I
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adelman, Jonathan R. Revolution, Armies, and War. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1985.

Discusses the relationship between armies and revolutions, illuminates the impact of revolutionary change on traditional states and advances our understanding of the crucial relationship between revolution and power.

Adversario, Patricia L. "Ambassador Cites Benefits of U.S. Aid." Business Star (Manila). [FBIS-EAS-88-042A, March 3, 1988, p. 31.]

Ambassador Pelaez told Business Star of the benefits the Filipinos would receive from a proposed \$1.0 billion "mini Marshall plan." This plan would be better than any new plan for U.S. base compensation. He calls for countries such as Japan, and other Asian and European nations, to contribute to this plan.

Aguirre, Alexander P. "People's Revolution of Our Time." Quezon City: Pan-Service Master Consultants, Inc., 1986.

A primary source on the People's Revolution of February 22-25, 1986, this book presents the events which led to the unique extra-constitutional change in government without significant bloodshed. It provides a human interest perspective, as well as a chronicle of the military and political events during this critical period of Philippine history.

Andreyev, Yuri. "The Philippines on the International Scene." International Affairs (USSR), October 1986, p. 72.

A Marxist analysis of the situation in the Philippines after the election of President Aquino. The economic policies of the imperialist powers are seen to be aimed at capitalizing on the current economic weakness and ensuring continued U.S. access to the bases in the Philippines. The author points out that the Aquino government seems to have adopted a more independent foreign policy which will lead to improved relations with the Soviet Union. The article is of more interest as an example of Marxist analysis than as an insightful view of the Philippine situation.

Ang, Elena. "Report Says U.S. Public Support of Aquino Does Not Mean U.S. Won't Overthrow It." Philippine News and Feature (Manila), July 13, 1987, pp. 1,2.

A report by an international fact finding mission in the Philippines led by former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark says that the U.S. is pursuing a "two-track" policy towards the Philippines which does not preclude destabilizing the Aquino government. The report noted that the strategy involves (A) expressions of public support for the existing government by the U.S. government, and (B) the use of "private citizens" and institutions to carry out foreign policy decisions. This policy attempts to establish ties with the right-wing military and vigilante networks to move the Philippine government to the right or even overthrow that government should it return to the center-left.

Anglioto, Jose L. "Davao Weekly Assesses Causes, Solutions to NPA Problems." Mindanao Times, April 4, 1985. [FBIS-JPRS-SEA-85-075, April 11, 1985, pp. P1-4.]

During the decade 1974-1984, the NPA has increased in strength by 200%. The author attributes this to 10 root causes. These causes are analyzed in their historic context and suggestions are made to remedy each.

"Aquino Discusses U.S. Visit, Fate of Marcos." Business Day, (Quezon City), September 11, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-176, p. P1.]

This article analyzes the geographic advantages of regional cease-fires over a national level cease-fire due to Philippine insularity and concurrent NPA/MNLF insurgencies.

"Aquino To Meet Zhao During April China Trip." Kyodo (Tokyo). [FBIS-EAS-88-032, February 18, 1988, p. P47.]

This broadcast indicates a desire of the Aquino government to improve the bilateral ties between the Republic of the Philippines and the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC). Reference is also made to aborted arms shipments from the PRC to the NPA.

"Aquino's New Challengers." Asian Week (Hong Kong), October 16, 1987, pp. 14-15.

According to this article, as long as the rebels perceive President Aquino to be a weak leader and indecisive president, the coup attempts will continue.

Arquiza, Yasmin. "Alsa Masa' Anticommunist Movement Growing." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong), February 15, 1987. [FBIS-APA-87-032, February 18, 1987, pp. P10-P11.]

This article discusses a series of "unexplained" killings among Communist insurgents in Mindanao and attributes them to Alsa Masa, an independent anti-Communist organization. It is claimed that Alsa Masa has more than 3,000 active members in Davao alone, and that a great many of them are former supporters of the NPA. Alsa Masa is believed to be cooperating with the AFP and apparently enjoys broad support in many areas of the Philippines.

Bacho, Peter. "US Policy Options Toward the Philippines." Asian Survey, April 1987, p. 427.

The rising power of the left and of Philippine nationalism will oppose renewal of the U.S. basing agreements. The author suggests that U.S. policy must be aimed at restoring stability to the Philippines. The author suggests that in the upcoming bases negotiations, "the United States can best aid stability by understanding the nuances of Filipino culture and the inferences that will be drawn from the conduct of the talks."

"Back to the other fronts." Asia Week (Hong Kong), September 13, 1987, p. 22.

This article contends that the main threat to the government of President Aquino is not the ambitious, right wing colonels but leftist radicals. Their purpose is to seize power and supplant the present system. These leftist radicals dominate a number of trade, student and social action organizations.

Ballohey, Laurent. "NDF Negotiator Ocampo Comments on End of Truce." L'Humanite (Paris), February 9, 1987, p. 14. [FBIS-APA-87-030, February 13, 1987, p. P4.]

NDF leader Satur Ocampo explains the position of the NDF after peace negotiations were broken off with President Aquino's government. In speaking for the NDF, Ocampo seeks to parley his influence into political accomplishments. From this interview, however, it does not appear that he is willing to make any major concessions, despite the gains associated with them.

Bello, Walden. "Aquino's Elite Populism: Initial Reflections." Third World Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 3, July 1986, pp. 1020-1030.

This article by a CPP sympathizer looks at the various factions that make-up the new government under Corazon Aquino and attempts to forecast the implications of this factionalism for American interests. Aquino's strong anti-fascist, anti-elitist tendencies could be dangerous to Washington since those were the forces that the U.S. supported in the past. Also, Aquino's policy of reconciliation with the Left could pose some future problems for the U.S. if Marxist forces gain too much influence in the government. Overall, however, Bello does not believe that Aquino's elite populism will hurt the U.S. because she still has a strong dependence on the military and some of the former elite, both of which have an interest in maintaining a good relationship with the U.S.

"From the Ashes: The Rebirth of the Philippine Revolution - a Review Essay." Third World Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 1, January 1986, pp. 258-276.

An examination of the growth of the Philippine insurgency over the last 30 years. In this article, Bello examines some of the recent works on Communist insurgency and contrasts them to his own vision of the situation. After looking at insurgency's historical development, Bello makes a quick assessment for the future. The NPA and CPP have been very successful because they have been able to fuse revolutionary zeal at all levels of the movement, but the final goal of national control seems unlikely because of the U.S. presence and commitment to a free Philippines.

Bilveer, S. "Internal Instability as a SLOC Problem." Asian Defence Journal, November 1986, pp. 16-26.

This article examines the internal instability of ASEAN nations to see if the insurgent movements in these countries could pose any threat to the sea lanes of communication (SLOC) in the Pacific region. Through his analysis of the problems currently facing ASEAN nations, Bilveer sees no overwhelming threat to any of the regimes; thus he believes that the status quo will hold. He feels that none of the problems in ASEAN nations, not even those facing Mrs. Aquino in the Philippines, are a real threat to the sea lanes. However, he warns against complacency. Problems must be dealt with in this region quickly and effectively if they are not to spread, thus threatening the vital Pacific sea lanes.

"U.S. Military Bases in the Philippines." Asian Defence Journal, January 1986, pp. 22-28.

This article provides a well-rounded view of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines--their historical development, a description of the installations, and their overall importance to U.S. military strategy. The author then places these U.S. interests in the context of the present situation--Philippine instability, increasing anti-Americanism in Filipino society, and growing Soviet military expansion in the Asia-Pacific region. Bilveer concludes by saying that although there are alternative bases in the Pacific for American forces, the U.S. should try to retain Clark and Subic because they have developed into an integrated system which cannot be duplicated.

Borjai, Arturo A. "NPA Arms Snatching." Metro Manila Times, October 25, 1985, p.4.

This is an analysis of NPA methods for acquiring weapons and the serious problems this poses for the AFP. It discusses methods for financing operations through the widely used and effective "forced tax collections" from tax evaders, loggers, and fish pond owners.

Bowring, Philip. "The 'all-powerful' US with its hands tied." Far Eastern Economic Review, November 21, 1985, pp. 52-53.

This article provides a brief background explanation of the weakness of the U.S. position *vis-a-vis* President Marcos prior to his fall. It explains how our previous support for Marcos conflicted with our perception that his continued presence jeopardized our interests.

Bresnan, John, ed. Crisis in the Philippines--The Marcos Era and Beyond. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.

An excellent informative book which presents all facets of the Filipino-American relationship. This work covers the period from early colonial history to the uncertain future. In a foreword, David D. Newsom, former U.S. ambassador in Manila, writes that the intent of this book is to present the American reader with thoughtful insights into the Philippines, thus making the current developments easier to understand. One other interesting note in the foreword is that Newsom believes that Americans, after reading this book, will find it unnerving to be reminded of our own colonial history juxtaposed with our role as the intrusive colonist in the Philippines.

Brown, Richard. "Liberation theology in Latin American: its challenge to the United States." Conflict 4(1), 1983, pp. 21-58.

The study traces the history and theological bases of liberation theology in Latin America, commenting on its chief causes, growth and strength. The thinking of the principal Roman Catholic proponents of the movement is examined and quotations from their most noteworthy works are included. The alliance between the Catholic liberationists and radical Marxist revolutionaries is noted, and has implications for the role of the church in the Philippines. The paper also reveals that moderate churchmen are beginning to emerge to counterbalance the liberationists. Though the moderates are being supported by Pope John Paul II and the conclusions of the 1979 Puebla Conference in Mexico are less radical than the 1968 Medellin Conference, the liberation movement is still vibrant and has led a significant element of the Church into the political arena favoring violent revolution. The complications created for the U.S. in Latin America are examined and a final section discusses several policy options which the U.S. could pursue.

Bunge, Frederica, ed. Philippines: A Country Study. Washington: U.S. Department of the Army, 1984.

One of the many early handbooks prepared by the Foreign Area Studies School of American University for the Department of the Army, this volume covers the Philippines. Economics, national security, politics, social systems, and national institutions are examined, to include the interrelationships among them. In addition to the political analysis of the Philippines, this study includes extensive coverage of the historical and cultural factors that are influential today. Although no longer as current as some other sources, it provides excellent overall background material on the Philippines.

Burton, Sandra. "Aquino's Philippines: The Center Holds." Foreign Affairs. Vol. 65, No. 3, 1987, pp. 524-537.

A review of the accomplishments of Corazon Aquino in stabilizing her hold over the Philippine government. This article covers the strengthening of the moderate forces against both reactionaries and Communists. With many problems still facing the president, Burton believes that Aquino must continue to win converts over to her moderate position, thus diminishing the respective power of the Left and the Right. Once this process is accomplished, Aquino can freely move the Philippines ahead on a democratic path.

Buss, Claude A. The United States and the Philippines. Washington: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977.

This is an examination of the problems that faced the Marcos at the end of the 1970's. Following his "revolution from the Right," Marcos created problems for the Philippines due to his one-sided policy of sacrificing individual needs for the sake of the nation. This type of policy caused turmoil and dissatisfaction with the "New Society." In addition to the economic problems, Marcos inherited an extremely dangerous insurgency problem which he only aggravated. Buss examines the threat posed by the Communist insurgency and shows how Marcos' continuance of martial law created unrest and displeasure among the people. Although at the time Marcos remained fairly strong, Buss identifies the growing instabilities and opposition to this American-sponsored autocrat.

_____. "Waking from a Dream." The Wilson Quarterly. Vol. 10, No. 3, Summer 1986, pp. 29-33.

An historical examination of the relationship between the United States and the Philippines, with special emphasis on the growing tension between these two nations following World War II, this article traces the development of anti-American sentiment in the Philippine population. It is useful in evaluating the U.S. position in the Philippines today.

"CPP Paper Predicts More US Deaths." Philippine News and Feature (Manila), November 30, 1987, pp. 12-13.

This article is based on the November 1987 issue of Ang Bayan. It says that more U.S. soldiers will die as a result of "more direct U.S. intervention." The CPP believes that the U.S. is planning direct intervention. As proof, it offers that now U.S. troops conduct patrols outside Clark AFB, ostensibly to protect American lives.

"Captured Document Reveals CPP 'Strategy'." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong), February 8, 1987. [FBIS-APA-87-026, February 9, 1987, pp. P9-11.]

This report is based on a captured NPA document which indicates that the Communist rebels will use peace talks and the cease-fire agreement to wage a propaganda war. Although there is nothing surprising about this strategy, the report is of interest because it is based on the translation of an NPA document which details a July 5, 1986 meeting of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

"Captured NPA Leader Reveals Plan." Manila Domestic Service. [FBIS-JPRS-83301-0161A, March 31, 1983, pp. P5-7.]

A captured NPA commander tells of plans to infiltrate the AFP with NPA adherents in order to gain military training, steal arms and ammunition, and obtain military documents.

"Cardinal Sin Supports Dialogue on Insurgency." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong). November 2, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-212, November 3, 1986, p. P3.]

This report discusses the Church's position on negotiations and dialogue as a primary means of solving the insurgency problem.

Chalian, Gerard, ed. Guerrillas Strategies: A Historical Anthology from the Long March to Afghanistan. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Here is a unique anthology of writings on revolutionary warfare and counterinsurgency, covering almost all the major struggles of the modern world. The editor, who has had firsthand experience with guerrilla movements in Asia (most recently in Afghanistan), Africa, and Latin America, provides a concise yet panoramic view of political and military strategies in revolutionary warfare, noting their strengths, limitations, and pathologies.

Chan, Romy. "Mass Graves of NPA Death Squads Found in Davao." Manila Bulletin (Manila), February 20, 1987, pp. 1,9. [FBIS-APA-87-038, February 26, 1987, p. P7.]

This report is consistent with others that mention the "Philippine killing fields." There is some uncertainty as to whether these executions were conducted by rebels or the AFP.

Chapman, William. Inside the Philippine Revolution. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1987.

Chapman presents a fascinating account of the 20-year transformation of the CPP from "an amateurish exercise taken from textbook histories of other Third World conflicts and fought by neophytes who scarcely knew one end of an automatic rifle from another" to the present situation in which the party carries out "a wholly indigenous war waged by seasoned fighters skilled in the arts of ambush, assassination, and armed propaganda." The basic social inequalities in Philippine society remain the major problem facing the Aquino government.

Chappell, David, and Kessler, Richard J. "An Island Without Joy." Far Eastern Economic Review, December 25, 1986, pp. 12-13.

The strategy of the CPP/NPA on the island of Samar is discussed, as well as the strength of CPP/NPA forces. However, the numbers given appear to be inflated.

_____. "U.S. Security and the Philippines: An Exchange." Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist, Vol. 41, No. 5, May 1985, pp. 38-40.

Chappell argues that there is no American dilemma in dealing with the political turmoil in the Philippines, because the U.S. military bases located in the Philippines no longer have any strategic importance. In Chappell's opinion, the Navy and Air Force have no need of the Philippines for forward-strike operations, because modern developments and military doctrine along with the lack of reliability have made foreign bases very unattractive. Chappell goes further by saying that the anti-Marcos forces, even if they do attain power, will most probably be moderate and would not sever the relationship with the U.S. Even if they do, he argues, the Philippines are no longer vital to our military and thus pose no real problem to American foreign policy. Kessler responds to Chappell's argument by disagreeing with his premise; he believes that the Philippines serve a very important geostrategic role for the U.S. by its location alone. This article serves as an excellent debate on the military value of the U.S. Philippine bases and how they should influence American foreign policy.

Cladd, James. "An Uneasy Aftermath." Far Eastern Economic Review, September 17, 1987, pp. 22-23.

This article discusses why all parties, with the exception of the NPA, are taking a "wait and see" attitude with the Aquino government. If the government is unable to regain its direction, these fence-sitters may take matters into their own hands.

"The Clergy in a Revolutionary Setting." Quezon Veritas, January 22, 1987. [FBIS-JPRS-SEA-087-038, March 17, 1987, p. 47.]

According to this article, there are those in the Church who see no contradiction between Christian faith and the revolutionary path to the peoples' deliverance. Drawing parallels between the Nicaraguan experience and

those in other Latin American countries, most of these Christians who are involved in the revolution see it as an extension of their faith.

Dasse, Martial. "Le communisme aux Philippines: un romantisme revolutionnaire." Defense Nationale. February 1984, pp. 99-109.

This article discusses the period of Philippine history following the assassination of Benigno Aquino. The author reviews communism in the Philippines and concludes that it has pro-Chinese characteristics. These characteristics, in turn, affect the way the CPP relates to the NPA. Of interest is the author's discussion of how the CPP provides a legal base for Soviet espionage directed against U.S. bases in the Philippines.

"Defense Official Warns of Coming NPA Storm." Philippine News Agency (Manila). September 19, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-182, September 19, 1986, p. P4.]

Strong evidence concerning tax collection by the NPA in the countryside suggests that the tax levied is excessive and often extortionist. The geography of NPA taxation is related to the level of its control. In those areas where the government maintains control, NPA taxation is minimal or nonexistent.

DeGuzman, Roy S. "NDF Continues to Press for Power-sharing Function." Philippine Daily Inquirer (Manila), November 29, 1986, p. 1. [FBIS-APA-86-231, December 2, 1986, pp. P1-2.]

Satur Ocampo, chief negotiator for the NDF, states that objectives of the Front include a coalition government, improved human rights, national sovereignty and economic development. Elimination of U.S. bases and radical land reform are also high priorities of the NDF. NPA staff officer de la Paz clarifies NPA organizational, political and ideological objectives.

Denny, Jeffrey. "How Important Are Subic and Clark." Military Logistics Forum, Vol. 2, No. 4, November-December 1985, pp. 15-18.

This article presents the argument that U.S. military bases in the Philippines are critical to our operations and their loss would be a blow to our military capability. Even though the Pentagon holds this belief, it seems to be unconcerned about the political turmoil in the Philippines. The Pentagon's opinion is that any coalition that comes to power will have to allow the U.S. to continue its military presence for the economic benefits alone. This confidence has yet to be justified.

DeVera, Jose. "Further Details on NPA Purge Against Suspected Infiltrators." Far Eastern Economic Review, May 13, 1986, pp. 1-16.

This article talks about the positive effects of the governor's actions to counter the insurgency.

Dewar, Michael. Brush Fire War. New York: St Martin's Press, 1984.

This book describes and evaluates British experience in small-scale and counterinsurgency campaigns in the period 1945-1983.

"Documents Seized in Raid of NPA Underground House." Philippine Daily Express (Manila). [FBIS-JPRS-SEA-85-093-64, May 23, 1985, pp. P1-3.]

A raid of a suspected NPA safehouse yielded documents which revealed an "agaw-arnas" operation to target police and military personnel as well as other people holding firearms.

Doronila, Amando. "The Transformation of Patron-Client Relations and its Political Consequences in the Postwar Philippines." Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, March 1985, pp. 99-115.

This paper examines the underlying socioeconomic and political processes which were responsible for the shift in the balance of power in the Philippines away from the Congress toward the Executive in the early 1960's. It argues that the eventual concentration and control of patronage resources in the hands of a paternalistic state authority facilitated overthrow by Marcos of the old adversarial political order.

Durbin, Tillman. "Philippine Communism." Problems of Communism, May-June 1976, pp. 40-48.

This article provides an early analysis of the CPP/NPA movement in the Philippines and the threat that it poses to the Philippine government. It considers the difference in tactics and strategy employed by the two

separate Communist movements--the Moscow-orientated PKP and the Peking-leaning factions of the CPP and the NPA--in their fight to overthrow democracy in the Philippines. The split of the Communist movement is viewed from a historical perspective, so that the differences in the threat which each poses to democratic stability can be examined. Durdin also looks at the policy that Marcos used in trying to weaken the Communist movement. Although his tactic of funneling power away from the radical NPA and CPP and giving it to the more moderate PKP worked for a while, Durdin believes that the future economic problems facing the Philippines could lead to a new growth of power for the radical Communists.

Enrile, Juan Ponce. "Defense Minister on Changing NPA Leadership." Bulletin Today (Manila), October 12, 1985, p. 8.

Report on speech given by Defense Minister Enrile wherein he expresses general concern that victory by the Communists would lead to wholesale extermination. He sees the nature of the CPP leadership becoming less political and more military, while the leadership lacks a substantial degree of political indoctrination.

"Enrile Predicts More Rebel, Military Clashes." Quezon City Radio, February 27, 1987. [FBIS-APA-87-039, February 27, 1987, p. P4.]

Former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile asserts that the military is prepared to suppress rebel atrocities. This is not inconsistent with General Fidel Ramos' advocacy of "total war" even at a time when President Aquino is searching for an acceptable and effective amnesty offer.

"Enrile, Ramos Announce Dismantling of NISA, PSC." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong). [FBIS, March 4, 1986, pp. P5-6.]

This article discusses significant changes in the military being made by members of Aquino's staff to assure no further "police state" in the Philippines.

"Enrile Says 'Balanced' Solution Is Needed." Radio Veritas in Tagalog, (Manila), September 25, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-187, September 26, 1986, p. P5.]

The formulation of concrete political, economic and social solutions to the Communist threat in the country was urged by Defense Minister Enrile. These steps, supplemented by military forces, would settle the insurgency problem and lead to national unity and cooperation.

"Enrile Says Insurgency Problem 'Really Alarming'." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong). September 25, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-187, September 26, 1986, pp. P4-5.]

The steady growth of the NPA and the increased losses suffered by the AFP are described by Defense Minister Enrile as 'really alarming.' In Enrile's estimation, the guerrilla war is rapidly escalating to conventional war.

Espino, Cherie. "No Peace in Hunger." National Midweek, (Quezon City), March 25, 1987, pp. 20-21, 45-46.

This article states that unless there are changes in the economic and political system, the problems of poverty and injustice will continue to fan the flames of revolution. With the economy in trouble, the Philippines has to contend with the following: workers receiving meager salaries, layoffs, low productivity, the collapse of local industries, poverty, and the dispossession of property, lands and livelihood in the countryside.

Esplanada, Jerry. "Alsa Masa in Davao Vows to 'Rid' Area of NPA." Philippine Daily Inquirer (Manila), February 26, 1987, pp. 1,6. [FBIS-APA-87-039, February 27, 1987, p. P8.]

There is some concern that Alsa Masa is made up of vigilante groups of criminals and private armies. Metropolitan District Command Chief LTC France Calido, however, supports Alsa Masa and encourages other military commanders in Mindanao to support their formation.

Federspiel, Howard M. "Islam and development in the nations of ASEAN." Asian Survey, 25(8), August 1985, pp. 805-821.

In the ASEAN region of Southeast Asia national governments have had to deal with the relationship of the State with Islamic values. Important Muslim voices in the region have long held that Islam should be the determining factor in the lives of citizens and that political authority over Muslims should reflect Islamic

principles. National leaders, however, view Islam as an institution in society that needs to be modernized and as a potential instrument of the modernizing process itself. Muslim elite responses to political development vary by country but generally agree that the devout Muslim population has less political voice than the Muslim elite would like. Political and economic development is viewed as worthwhile only if accomplished through the righteous application of Islamic values.

Feeney, William R. "The United States and the Philippines: The Bases Dilemma." Asian Affairs: An American Review, Vol. 10, No. 4, Winter 1984, pp. 63-85.

An historical analysis of the U.S. military commitment in Southeast Asia, this study closely examines the U.S. military presence in the Philippines--the amount that the U.S. has invested in this region and the strategic importance that is involved. It also notes that the U.S. bases serve a different function for Filipinos--they are an economic resource which is badly needed. Feeney concludes from his study that even though there is still much goodwill toward the U.S. among the people, U.S. policy must separate itself from Marcos and try to support a peaceful democratic political change in order to secure our interests. While dated, the descriptions of the bases are interesting and useful.

Fisher, Richard D., Jr. "The Communist Threat to Reviving Democracy in the Philippines." Asian Studies Center Backgrounder, The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., April 23, 1986.

This piece provides a brief history of the CPP, a discussion of its policies and tactics, and a review of the capabilities of the government and AFP to combat the insurgency. The paper also provides recommendations for U.S. policy.

Gorosope, Vitaliano R. "The Vatican instruction and liberation theology in the Philippines." Philippine Studies, Vol. 33(2), 1985, pp. 151-163.

There is much in the 1984 Vatican instruction which can positively help Filipino Christians in confirming and further developing a Filipino theology of liberation. (1) An authentic theology of liberation serves as one of the most effective means of raising the level of concern about issues such as the promotion of justice, the defense of human rights, and the care for the poor and oppressed. (2) The Vatican document directly strikes a blow at the grave social sin of omission or Filipino apathy and non-involvement, the Filipino fatalistic and escapist bahala na attitude, sloth and complicity in the midst of massive poverty and structural injustice. (3) The document demands a double liberation from personal and structural or social sin, that is, personal conversion and change of unjust structures or systems. In the Philippines of today, more than ever, there is need to stress social sin or unjust structures which are at the root of poverty, gross inequality, violence and injustices.

Gregor, A. James. Crisis in the Philippines--Threat to U.S. Interests. Washington: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1984.

In his foreword, Senator Howard Baker cites the book as a "thoughtful" contribution to a "better understanding of the mutual economic and security interests" of the Philippines and the U.S. The author, a professor of political science at the University of California (Berkeley), presents a factual examination of the political and economic environment of the Philippines in the context of its "special relationship" with the U.S., and the economic and political programs of the Marcos' regime. An analysis of the failures of Marcos' development program suggests some of the reasons for the country's continuing insurgency.

"The Philippine Crisis: The Real Options." Global Affairs, Vol. 1, Winter 1986, pp. 67-76.

Recognizing U.S. interests in the Philippines, this article attempts to propose the best course for U.S. policy to take in order to stabilize the Philippine government and to diminish the growing power of anti-American forces. Gregor believes that initially the U.S. must push for evolutionary change in the Philippines--increase representation of all sectors of the general population, make governmental agencies accountable for their actions, assure honest elections, and protect civil liberties of all citizens. This type of U.S. policy, Gregor believes, would lead to the formation of a national coalition that would lead the Philippines past the threat

posed by the Communist insurgency. Such a result would be positive for the United States, since this type of coalition would be compatible with U.S. economic and security interests in the Philippines.

Gregor, A. James. "U.S. Bases in the Philippines: Assets or Liabilities." The Defense Monitor, Vol. 15, No. 4, 1986, pp. 1-8.

This analysis of the Philippine situation looks at the problem for the U.S. in two different areas--political relations with the Philippines and the importance of our military bases. From a careful analysis of the situation, the author concludes that U.S. economic and political support for the Philippines should not hinge upon the status of our military bases. Although our military bases in the Philippines are convenient and useful, it is no longer true that they are essential to our security. All missions performed at these bases can be accomplished elsewhere in Southeast Asia with satisfactory results. As a result, the article concludes the U.S.-Philippine relations should not be damaged in any way by the question of continued existence of U.S. military bases in the Philippines

Gritz, Almerigo. "New People's Army." Soldier of Fortune, Vol. 12, No. 1, January 1987, pp. 54-61.

An on-site article which reveals the operational procedure for Communist insurgency units in the Philippines. It describes the NPA's military tactics of guerrilla warfare, as well as their political cadre called POT (Political Organizing Team) whose job entails the winning of the rural population's support for the Communist movement. This article also examines the steps that Aquino has taken in order to deal with the insurgency: increasing the number of military personnel and acquiring weapon systems that meet the requirements of counterinsurgency warfare.

"The Philippines: A Guerrilla War at the Crossroads." Military Technology, Vol. 10, No. 9, September 1986, pp. 124-134.

An in-depth look at the military hardware, strategy, and tactics being employed by the NPA and government forces in their battle for control of the countryside. Recent estimates place NPA forces at 20,000 strong and in control of 20% of the country's villages; these figures alone indicate the severe threat that Communist insurgency poses for the stability of any democratic regime in the Philippines. NPA recruitment tactics and military strategy are discussed in detail, as well as the amounts and types of weapons they employ. The conclusion that Gritz draws from his examination of the situation is the President Aquino is handling the insurgency the best way possible. She is implementing domestic policies that will deprive the guerrillas of discontent-fueled support, which will render the insurgency weak enough to be handled by the government forces.

Grossholtz, Jean. The Philippines. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1964.

This is a highly perceptive survey of Philippine politics, society and economy. It was written in collaboration with noted Asian scholar Lucian Pye. The work is an excellent analysis and the conclusions have proven to be accurate assessments of the present situation. Among the important points made by the author are: (1) economics has been subordinated to politics; (2) there is a widening gap between urban and rural societies; (3) there is no meaningful land reform; and (4) there is a need for continued economic development.

Guerrero, Amado. Specific Characteristics of Peoples' War in the Philippines. Oakland: International Association of Philippine Patriots, 1974.

The author, presumably Jose Maria Sison writing under his nom de guerre, has been described as the CPP's chief theoretician. In this work, he explains in detail the principles of revolutionary warfare as they relate to the Philippines. In general, the focus of his principles is the conversion of Philippine geographic constraints to advantages for waging "decentralized operations under centralized political leadership." It has been suggested by many that the NPA has closely followed Guerrero's theories.

Hastings, Peter. "Corruption as an Art Form." Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), February 13, 1985, p. 11.

Part two of the series "Crisis in the Philippines," this article describes how government corruption has weakened the economy and provided an environment in which the insurgency can grow.

Hastings, Peter. "Round One to the Guerrillas." Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), February 14, 1985, p. 11.

The concluding part of a series of articles entitled "Crisis in the Philippines" is an excellent study of how insurgency grows in the Philippines and how corruption gives momentum to the growth.

_____. "The Politics of Murder." Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), February 12, 1985, p. 11.

Part one of the series "Crisis in the Philippines," it describes increasing violence of the insurgency and draws parallels with Vietnam.

Hawes, Gary. "United States Support for the Marcos Administration and the Pressures That Made for Change." Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vol. 8, No. 1, June 1986, pp. 18-36.

Political and economic pressures push the United States away from the Marcos regime, while on the other hand, the importance of U.S. military bases in the Philippines and the growing Communist insurgency pushes the United States to favor the maintenance of the status quo. The gradual shift in U.S. policy that occurred during the fall of Marcos must continue and become even stronger, Hawes believes, if democracy under Aquino is to flourish.

Henson, Renato J. "Whither the NERP." Philippine Currents (Quezon City), March 1987, pp. 13-14.

This article suggests that the Philippines is not on the road to recovery. It is taking a path which led the Marcos government and the country to disaster, i.e. dependence on foreign borrowings, more control over the economy by foreign capital, lifting of import restrictions and increased tax burdens.

Hill, H. Monte. "The Downfall of Marcos." Air University Review, Vol. 37, No. 3, March-April 1986, pp. 72-81.

An historical analysis of how the once-omnipotent Ferdinand Marcos lost his political acumen and was ousted from power. This article cites the reason for Marcos's fall to be one of a "group think" mentality which caused his regime to be unable to respond to the changing forces in the Philippines.

"Intelligence -Rebel Portfolio." Far Eastern Economic Review, November 26, 1987, p. 11.

President Aquino wants to add a new department to the cabinet called "A Super Counter Insurgency Department." This article discusses the need for and function of this department.

Kaylor, Robert. "Philippines: U.S. at Risk." U.S. News and World Report, Vol. 100, No. 5, February 10, 1986, pp. 29-35.

A series of reports outlining the various problems that the Philippine turmoil has created for American interests--the threat of losing our military bases, the growing power of Communist insurgency, a failing Philippine economy which will cause losses to American industries, and the possible loss of an ally in Southeast Asia.

Kerkvliet, Benedict J. The Huk Rebellion. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977.

A comprehensive study of the peasant revolt that occurred in the Philippines in the 1930's and 1940's, this book is unusual since it tries to understand the Huk rebellion from the point of view of its participants and sympathizers. Instead of viewing the rebellion from the perspective of government policymakers, as most scholars do, Kerkvliet is able to analyze the motivations for Filipino insurrection by observing the rebellion through the eyes of the insurgents themselves. This interesting study of the Huk rebellion is important today, since it gives a historical perspective to the current Communist insurgency in the Philippines as well as an analysis of Filipino radical thought.

Kessler, Richard J. "Marcos and the Americans." Foreign Policy, No. 63, Summer 1986, pp. 40-57.

This is a discussion of the relationship between President Marcos and the U.S., and the American mistakes before and after the fall of Marcos. Actions which the U.S. should take to ensure good relations with the

Aquino government are also mentioned. The article is a useful analysis of the asymmetric relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines.

Kessler, Richard J. "The Philippines: A U.S. Policy Dilemma." Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist, Vol. 41, No. 1, January 1985, pp. 41-45.

An accurate and informed analysis of the delicate U.S. position in the Philippines, Kessler points out that because of the importance of our military bases in the Philippines the U.S. has been relegated to a position where the best action is no action. The U.S. has very few options in the Philippines. If it supports the losing side in the current political turmoil, this could lead to a situation in which the Philippines is no longer aligned with the United States. Even more frustrating for the U.S., as Kessler points out, is that our future relationship with the Philippines will be totally decided upon by a Filipino people who will view the U.S. as a result of our actions toward Marcos.

_____. "The Transition of Power in the Philippines: An Interview with Dr. Richard J. Kessler." The Fletcher Forum, Vol. 10, No 2, Summer 1986, pp. 203-216.

This article presents Kessler's view on the recent Philippine political turmoil and what the future prospects of Cory Aquino's government could be when viewed against the problems left by Marcos.

Kim, Shee Poon. "Insurgency in Southeast Asia." Problems of Communism, May-June 1983, pp. 45-55.

The article discusses the significant factors which tend to spawn insurgencies. Some of these include ethnic, historic and economic conditions. Kim also gives examples of successful programs to combat insurgencies in Southeast Asia.

Kirk, Donald. "Marcos' Bitter Legacy." Soldier of Fortune, Vol. 11, No. 11, November 1986, pp. 50-53.

This article gives a first-hand account of the brutal warfare occurring between the NPA and government forces, and shows how both sides are not very popular among the ordinary citizenry because of the destruction they leave across the Philippine countryside. The position of the government troops is improving due the popular nature of Aquino, the removal of Marcos, and a policy of military reforms that deal with respecting human rights. The NPA, however, continues to fight a brutal guerrilla war and much of the Philippine countryside remains a violent war zone.

Lachica, Eduardo. The Huks: Philippine Agrarian Society in Revolt. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.

A historical presentation of the rebellion by the Huks against the democratic Philippine regime. This book examines the links of this agrarian revolution to the formation of a new insurgency movement in the NPA and CPP. Also included is a captured CPP/NPA document that provides an interesting examination of their program for bringing about communism in the Philippines. Excellent source material for examining the theory and tactics behind the Communist movement in the Philippines, and in particular the origins of the CPP/NPA.

_____. "The Philippines: A Critical Transition." Asia Issues - 1985, New York: University Press of America, 1986, pp. 1-15.

This report outlines the Philippine political situation prior to the 1986 elections. The author discusses the problem areas facing the Philippines and concludes that the situation is not as critical as some other observers have suggested. The moderate nature of the Filipino people could only allow them to replace the Marcos regime with a democratic form of government. U.S. interests are not at grave risk if we will continue to stick with the Philippines and push for economic and political reforms.

Lacsamana, Joel D. "Militarization in Central Luzon: What's it Like For Civilians." Business Day (Manila), March 28-29, 1985, pp. 52-63.

This is a report on abuses of civilians allegedly committed by military personnel engaged in counterinsurgency operations.

Lande, Carl H., and Hooley, Richard. "Aquino Takes Charge." Foreign Affairs, Vol. 64, No. 5, Summer 1986, pp. 1087-1107.

This article describes the damage that the Marcos regime did to Philippine society and the political scene that Mrs. Aquino inherited. Aquino not only has to solve severe economic and political problems, but she has to do it in such a way that it satisfies her wide-based coalition--which includes moderates, nationalists, and liberals. This article suggests that the key to Aquino's success in overcoming the Marcos legacy will be her ability to forge a unified political movement that can sustain popular support.

Laurel, Salvador H. The Philippines on the Road Towards a New Destiny. Address to the Conference on the Philippines. The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Massachusetts, October 5, 1986.

The question that this address attempts to answer is now that Marcos has been deposed, what kind of solutions can Mrs. Aquino find to the huge problems facing the Philippines. As a member of the Philippine government, Vice President Laurel projects a feeling of confidence that Mrs. Aquino and her advisors can overcome the economic and political chaos left by Ferdinand Marcos. This address lays out a vision of the future of the Philippines from the perspective of a prime actor in the Philippine government today. Readers must remember, however, that this speech was prepared specifically for an American audience.

Lee, N., and Hinge, A. J. "The U.S. Bases in the Philippines." Naval Forces, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1986, pp. 8-10.

This article contends that unless the NPA triumphs in the Philippines, the American presence in these islands for the future is almost assured. The security of an American presence and U.S. aid program is too attractive for any Philippine regime to turn down. The authors believe that, unless the United States makes major policy blunders, its vested interests in the Philippines seem very secure with the Aquino government, even beyond 1991.

"Leftist Group Admits Election Boycott a Mistake." Philippine Daily Inquirer (Manila). March 13, 1986, p. 3. [FBIS-APA-86-051, March 17, 1986, p. P21.]

A brief discussion of the reevaluation by leftists of their role in the 1986 Presidential election, admitting that the boycott was a mistake and contrary to the people's wishes.

Leviste, Jose P., Jr., ed. The American Military Bases in the Philippines: The Link Between Northeast Asian and ASEAN Security. Paper presented at the International Security Council Symposium, Seoul, Korea, January 18-20, 1987.

An evaluation of the importance of maintaining U.S. military bases in the Philippines to the overall security of the Pacific area. Leviste contends that American military bases are very important to the security of the area because of increased influence by the USSR in the Pacific, especially in the staging areas of Vietnam and North Korea. Due to the recent events, however, such as the new Philippine Constitution and peace talks with Communist forces, the fate of U.S. military bases is still undecided. The author proposes that the U.S., with the aid of its Pacific allies, make every effort to retain the Philippine bases through massive economic aid.

. The Pacific Lake: Philippine Perspectives on a Pacific Community. Manila, Philippines: Philippine Council for Foreign Relations, Inc., 1986.

This book identifies Filipino perceptions of their place in the Pacific region. It documents the various conceptions held by different Filipino groups of what the Pacific Community entails, and what their nation's role should be in it. Important questions revolve around the Philippine's membership in this community: potential economic domination by the industrialized Pacific nations, national security implications because of the presence of U.S. military bases, and the problem of greater Soviet presence in the Pacific. Cesar Virata, former prime minister of the Philippines, professes in the forward of the book that the Philippine's main interest in the Pacific Community is to use it as a means of preserving peace and stability in the region.

Licayan, Abe. "Cebu Counterinsurgency Task Force Formed." Philippine Daily Inquirer (Manila). [FBIS-APA-86-176, September 11, 1986, p. P14.]

This article discusses increased guerrilla activity in and around the Cebu metropolitan area which has caused the military to specialize and escalate counterinsurgency efforts.

Lim, Joo-Jock, and Vani, S., eds. Armed Communist Movements in Southeast Asia. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984, pp. 71-105: "Rectification Process in the Philippine Communist Movement," by Francisco Nemenzo.

A well-developed history of the Communist theory behind the revolutionary movements in the Philippines. This article examines the split which resulted in the creation of the CPP and encouraged the development of heretical sects in Philippine communism. Following the evolution of the ideological disagreement from 1967 to the present, this essay suggests that the breakdown of monolithic unity has advanced rather than retarded the growth of insurgency in the Philippines.

Armed Separatism in Southeast Asia. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1984.

Part IV of this book provides an overview of the historical origins of the Muslim separatism movement in the Philippines and the prospects for the MNLF. It describes the struggles of the MNLF within the context of the economic, political, and socio-cultural make-up of the Southern Philippines. It provides an excellent view of the underlying issues and principal interests of the Moro resistance. The future prospects for the MNLF are also covered thoroughly and accurately as both the national and international realities are taken into consideration. This section of the book provides a good all-around picture of the Moro insurgency movement, thus making it a valuable addition to understanding the problems facing the Aquino government.

Lohr, Steve. "Inside the Philippine Insurgency." New York Times Magazine, November 3, 1985, pp. 40-60.

The writer, reporting from an NPA guerrilla camp, provides an interesting view of the rebels in their environment, and reveals the growing military and political strength of the Communist movement in the Philippines. Written before the advent of the Aquino government, the author believes that, in the near future, communism could bring about a "new Vietnam" for the U.S. in the Philippines.

Longmire, R. A. "The Philippines: Search for Identity." Asian Affairs (U.K.), Vol 16, Part 3, October 1985, pp. 288-297.

In this article, Longmire examines the mentality of the Filipino people and shows that because of the faltering Marcos regime the nation is faced with an identity crisis. The author sees four possible futures: (1) the continued rule of the masses by an elitist government, (2) a military seizure of power similar to others in Southeast Asia, (3) a Marxist authoritarian regime, or (4) a Western system of democracy. Though the fight could be tough, Longmire believes that the traditions of eighty years, although imperfect, will secure the future of the Filipino version of Western democracy.

Lustre, Philip. "Scholars Say Insurgency Irreversible." Ang Pahayagang Malay (Quezon City), August 10, 1985, pp. 1-2. [FBIS-JPRS-SEA-85-152, October 14, 1985, p. P28.]

Alejandro Lichauco, Philippine national economist, and Patrocino N. Abenales, University of Philippines researcher, discuss why the Communist insurgency will continue to escalate in a post-Marcos era. The insurgency is not seen as a Marxist movement but rather as a liberation movement against 'neo-colonialism.' The history of the insurgency is examined and the basis for the success of the recruitment efforts of the movement (a growth from 100 in 1969 to over 22,000 in 1985) is given.

"Sison Assesses NPA Growth." Ang Pahayagang Malay (Quezon City), December 26, 1984, pp. 1-2.

In an interview, arrested CPP leader Jose Maria Sison comments on the phases of the NPA insurgency and declares that it has reached the "advanced stage of the strategic defensive." The article contains comparisons of NPA and CPP strengths based on CPP claims versus government claims. Sison explains some of the factors

contributing to NPA growth and repudiates the Moscow-oriented PKP (Partido Komunista ng Philipinas) faction.

"MNLF Returnees Belie Unity with NPA." Bulletin Today (Manila), June 12, 1985, p. 66. [FBIS-JPRS-SEA-85-093-66, April 17, 1985, p. P8.].

Two MNLF commanders, Nur Khan and Gerry Salspuddin, deny any unity between the MNLF and the NPA because of the antireligious tenets of the NPA. NPA atrocities against Muslim civilians are also cited.

Madison, Christopher. "Rare White House-Congress Consensus Emerges on Policy Toward the Philippines." National Journal, Vol. 17, No. 48, November 30, 1985, pp. 2707- 2712.

This article describes the process by which the U.S. went from being a firm supporter of Marcos to a supporter of self-determination in the Philippines. Under advice from all sectors of the government, the Reagan administration finally distanced the U.S. from Marcos in an attempt to defuse some of the anti-American feelings arising from the Philippine political turmoil. Madison agrees with the position of the U.S. Government and believes that the best thing that the United States could do would be to guarantee fair elections, thereby preventing radicals from growing in influence.

Magno, Jose P., Jr., and Gregor, A. James. "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in the Philippines." Asian Survey, Vol. 26, No. 5, May 1986, pp. 501-517.

This article ties the rise of Communist insurgency to the economic problems occurring in the Philippines in the 1980's. The authors believe that political negotiations should be attempted with the insurgents, but they also believe that force will be the only way to deal with the insurgency movement since the rebels have claimed to be enemies of any "bourgeoisie" government. This article examines the operations and organization of the CPP and NPA in the Philippines, as well as showing the problems that insurgency is causing for Aquino. The authors conclude by saying that presently, for military and political reasons (including Aquino's popularity), the Philippine government has its best chance to cripple the influence of insurgency.

"Manglapus Discusses U.S. Bases, Debt." Philippine Daily Globe (Manila). [FBIS-EAS-88-032, February 17, 1988, p. 46.]

This is a report of Philippine Foreign Affairs Secretary, Raul Manglapus, that the U.S. bases in the Philippines were not necessary for the internal or external defense of the nation but are useful as a source of revenue. He implied that Defense Secretary Fidel V. Ramos agreed in this conclusion. This report offers an interesting insight as to the pragmatic approach of some key Philippine government officials regarding to the U.S. bases/basing agreements.

Martin, Richard. "Another Chance for Cory Aquino." Insight, Vol. 3, No. 3, January 19, 1987, p. 8.

This article examines the dynamics of President Aquino's rise to power, identifies the groups who supported her and considers their particular needs and expectations. It appraises her performance in the first year in office.

. "Democracy's Growing Pains." Insight, Vol. 3, No. 3, January 19, 1987, pp. 8-19.

This three part article takes a first-hand look at Filipino society after the removal of Marcos. The first part deals with the question of whether President Aquino has solved any of the problems facing Philippine society since she came into office. Martin concludes that Aquino has yet to come to grips with these major problems: chances of a cease-fire with Communist rebels are diminishing, the economy is weak, and her draft of a constitution faces much opposition. Although she enjoys wide support as president, she needs to form a clear direction for her policy. In the second part, Martin makes a closer examination of the collapsing Philippine economy that Aquino inherited. She has taken some measures to turn the economy around, such as rebuilding the agricultural sector and attracting foreign investment, but Filipino society still suffers unemployment and poverty. In the third part, Martin examines Aquino's problem in the south with the Muslim movement. He concludes that while she has temporarily stemmed the problem by promising a popular vote on "autonomy," the possibility of future bloodshed remains.

May, Ernest R., and Thomson, James C., Jr., eds. American-East Asian Relations: A Survey. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1972, pp. 291-316: "The Forgotten Philippines, 1790-1946," by Peter W. Stanley.

This chapter is useful as a survey of the "historiography" of U.S.-Philippine relations over the years, as well as an excellent analysis and evaluation of the studies that have been done on the Philippines. Stanley feels that a major problem with the information that we have on U.S.-Philippine relations is that it is mainly an American interpretation. The author feels that the study of Philippine history must be broadened and deepened by a greater recognition of Filipino perspectives.

May, R. J. "The Philippines After Euphoria." Australian Outlook, Vol. 40, No. 2, August 1986, pp. 85-89.

This article points to Aquino's problem of holding together her support, which is composed of various groups including elements of both the military and the Catholic Church. The crucial test, the article suggests, is whether the president can maintain her support when the people realize that not all of their expectations can be satisfied immediately.

McGurn, William. "Philippine Church Entangled in Marxist Insurrection." Wall Street Journal, June 22, 1987, p. 27.

The Catholic Church played a major role in the removal of President Marcos from office. This article describes the continued involvement of the clergy in the Philippine political process. Despite statements by Cardinal Sin that "Partisan politics should be left to the laity," the Church remains heavily involved in politics and many actively support the NPA. The survival of Philippine democracy is intertwined with the efforts of the Church to preserve its integrity.

Mediansky, F. A. "The New People's Army: A Nation-wide Insurgency in the Philippines." Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vol. 8, No. 1, June 1986, pp. 1-17.

This is an analysis of the history and organizational structure of the party (CPP) and army (NPA) organs of the Communist movement in the Philippines. Mediansky points to the long-term dangers that the Communist insurgency represents to the continuance of democracy in the Philippines. In the short term, however, the author feels that democracy is safe in the Philippines because the election of Mrs. Aquino represented the Filipino people's desire for a peaceful nonrevolutionary alternative. Now that Aquino is president, much of the popular support for the NPA has been removed.

"Melchor Proposal Could Set Back Soviet Ties." The Manila Chronicle (Manila). [FBIS-EAS, February 18, 1988, pp. 46-47.]

This article discusses the desire of the Soviet Union to expand Philippine/Soviet relations. This may be a "trial balloon" by some factions of the Aquino Government for enhanced relations with the USSR, as well as an attempt to gain control over the AFP.

"Military Claims Truce Part of Rebel Deception." Business Day (Quezon City). February 9, 1987, p. 20. [FBIS-APA-87-028, February 11, 1987, pp. P4-5.]

While there is verification on cease-fire violations, there are no analyses or details of the CPP-NPA-NDF transgressions offered. It is interesting to note that government officials disclosed a captured rebel document which contained a rebel agenda which was written 8 months prior.

"Military Notes Continued Violence in the South." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong). [FBIS, September 11, 1986, pp. P11-12.]

This article demonstrates that internal divisions exist within the MNLF and that MNLF insurgent activities vary due to factional philosophies.

Miller, Stuart Creighton. "Compadre Colonialism." The Wilson Quarterly, Vol. 10, No. 3, Summer 1986, pp. 22-28.

This article provides a historical examination of the colonial relationship between the United States and the Philippines which lasted for almost a hundred years. From his examination of history, Miller believes that this

relationship greatly benefited Philippine society without the exploitive drawbacks usually associated with colonialism.

Miranda, Felipe. "The last coup made its point." Philippine News and Feature (Manila). September 14, 1987, pp. 3-4.

It is the opinion of the author, a professor of political science, that no coup attempt has failed. Every coup attempt must be viewed as having a minimum and maximum objective. In the case of the August attempt, the minimum objective had to do with demonstrating that rebel military forces could occupy Manila for a period of from 4 to 6 hours.

"Misuari Reported Consolidating Muslim Forces." Manila Bulletin (Manila). September 20, 1986, p. 8. [FBIS-APA-86-183, September 22, 1986. p. P4.].

This report suggests that with the consolidation of MNLF forces, the Muslim secessionists would now reject any move for autonomous government and would pursue instead their original objective of creating several provinces within a separate Muslim state.

Molloy, Ivan. "Revolution in the Philippines: The Question of an Alliance Between Islam and Communism." Asian Survey, Vol. XXV, August 1985, pp. 822-833.

Marcos administration consistently identified an alliance between the Moro liberation movement and the NPA as one of the justifications for continuing martial rule. This article considers the two insurgent forces. The author discounts reports of an alliance and discusses factors within each group which prevent an effective alliance.

Monjo, John C. "U.S. Assistance to the Philippines." Department of State Bulletin, July 1986, p. 50.

This statement by a U.S. State Department official before a Congressional subcommittee analyzes the situation in the Philippines, describes U.S. policy interests in the region and lays out proposed U.S. assistance programs for the Philippines.

Montejo, Jimmy. "Rebel Spies in the Military." Ang Pahayagang Malay (Quezon City). September 13, 1985, pp. 1, 8.

This is a report on a press conference involving a group of defecting NPA cadre, including 14 ranking rebel leaders who were presented to the press for questioning. Claims were made that the NPA had people working for it at the detachment level of the AFP and had some officer assistance. Reference was also made to members of the religious community who aided the propaganda efforts of the NPA.

Morella, Cecil. "MILF Leader Urges Rejection of Cease-Fire." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong), September 12, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-177, September 12, 1986, p. P6.]

This is an analysis of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) as a radical Muslim subgroup of the MNLF, and its role in Moro secession efforts. Questions are raised as to whether the MILF has gained any material influence within the MNLF.

Morley, James W., ed. The Pacific Basin: New Challenges for the United States. New York: The Academy of Political Science in conjunction with the East Asian Institute and the Center on Japanese Economy and Business, Columbia University, 1986, pp. 129-141: "Toward Democracy in the Philippines," by Peter W. Stanley.

Stanley offers constructive suggestions for American foreign policy towards the Philippines. With the inevitable fall of Marcos, there will undoubtedly be a backlash against any forces that supported him. Therefore, Stanley believes that the U.S. should recognize the limits of its power in the near future in the Philippines, and be satisfied supporting a stable, democratic, and economically progressive Philippines. Stanley believes that helping the Philippines to move closer to democracy through every resource available will minimize the immediate damage to the United States and improve prospects for cooperative relationship in the future.

Munro, Ross H. "Dateline Manila: Moscow's Next Win?." Foreign Policy, No. 56, Fall 1984, pp. 173-190.

This article discusses the impending fall of the Marcos regime. It reviews some of the events and major issues that led to the fall, and provides an interesting discussion of the rise of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the NPA. The article also recommends certain courses of action for the United States now and in the future.

"The New Khmer Rouge." Commentary, Vol. 30, No. 6, December 1985, pp. 19-38.

An excellent look at the development of the current Communist movement in the Philippines--from its beginning in the writings of Jose Sison to radical leader Rodolfo Salas' violent and open attacks against government forces. This article analyzes the reasons behind the rapid growth and popularity of this indigenous Communist movement and also attempts to predict its chances of success. Munro's analysis also divides Philippine communism into its various component factions.

Murkowski, Frank H. "Observations on Recent Events in the Philippines." The Fletcher Forum, Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer 1986, pp. 181-190.

This is a report on how the Congress and the Administration handled the events in the Philippines from 1984-1986. In this article, Sen. Murkowski, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, provides a behind the scenes view of the decision-making process that determined U.S. policy towards the Philippines. In his view, the U.S. government handled itself very well in supporting the popular candidate, Mrs. Aquino, while not sacrificing U.S. vital interests.

"NPA Admits Ordering Central Luzon Liquidations." The Manila Chronicle (Manila), December 2, 1986, p. 2. [FBIS-APA-86-232, December 3, 1986, p. P6.]

The NPA Regional Command in Central Luzon admitted the killing of several politicians, police, and military officers during the period of September to November 1986. This was described as "justice" for "sins against the people."

"NPA Arms Shipment Alleged Coming From Vietnam." Far East Broadcasting Company (Manila), October 9, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-197, October 10, 1986, p. P4.].

If this report is accurate, what hitherto was a self-led, self-contained insurgency may be changing to an externally supported operation. The use of AK-47's rather than captured or recovered M-16's indicates a continued reliance on Soviet weapons and ammunition.

"NPA Kill 2 Cops, Burn Mining Firm." Manila Bulletin (Manila), August 5, 1987, pp. 1,14.

This edition of the Manila Bulletin carried a series of short accounts describing five NPA military attacks in various parts of the Philippines in one day. This illustrates heightened NPA military activity, bolder tactics, and larger operations.

"NPA Liquidates Marijuana Growers, Drug Suppliers." People's Daily Forum (Davao), August 21, 1984. [FBIS-JPRS-SEA-84-133, September 17, 1984, pp. P1-10.]

The "strict, almost ascetic" discipline of the NPA is described. Proper relations with the population and the prohibition of drug and alcohol use are particularly noted.

"NPA's Kill 800 Soldiers, 900 Civilians." Metro Manila Times, December 26, 1984, p. 3.

This is an excellent summary of increased insurgent activity during the 12-month period of 1984. Statistics cited include 3500 NPA incidents, with deaths of 800 soldiers and 900 civilians. Government information shows 1000 insurgents were killed. The nature of common NPA targets--local government officials and agencies--is identified. It is speculated that CPP political objectives include infiltration of loyal government opposition groups and strengthening CPP front organization.

Nawawi, Mond A. "Political Participation During the First Five Years of the New Society in the Philippines." Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, March 1981, pp. 270-278.

This is a survey of the political policies in the first five years of the New Society. It describes the failures of the government and the successes of the NPA as they relate to public acceptance and popularity.

Neher, Clark D. "Political Clientelism and Instability in the Philippines." Asian Affairs - An American Review, Fall 1985, pp. 1-23.

Prospects for stability in the Philippines are linked to the clientelism that pervades society. Only reforms that affect personalistic policies in a fundamental way stand a chance of resolving the nation's difficult political and economic crisis. Centralized planning under Marcos has proved wasteful and conducive to repressive government. In a clientelist system, the people are willing to put up with a degree of political repression if the regime in power is meeting their economic needs. In the Philippines, however, the Marcos administration has lost both moral authority and the capacity to cope with the demands of the populace. Marcos' removal from power through free elections is necessary before the nation can once again solve its problems and meet the needs of its citizens.

Nelson, Mark, A. "The Philippines and the United States." Asian Agenda Report, No. 16. (Washington). Conference Report of the Asian Society in conjunction with the Center for Research and Communication, and the Johnson Foundation, 1986, pp. 1-50.

This conference, attended by both Filipino and American specialists on U.S.-Philippine relations, concluded that Aquino had been successful thus far in her presidency. Her continuing challenges include the revision of the constitution, the loyalty of the armed forces, land and economic reforms, and the continuing challenge of the Communist insurrection. U.S. policy should be directed to supporting issues of common interest to the United States and the Philippines, and not be centered on the geostrategic value of the Filipino nation. The United States would be best served by promoting the Philippines as an example of economic growth and democratic institutions in the region.

Niksich, Larry A. "Bases of Misunderstanding." Foreign Service Journal, November 1983, p. 17.

After an analysis of the political and economic situation in the Philippines, the author discusses the importance of U.S. bases in support of U.S. policies in Asia. The article concludes with a series of recommendations for U.S. policy toward the Philippines. This is a thoughtful analysis of the subject.

_____. "Developments in Southeast Asia and Implications for U.S. Interests." Asian Defense Journal, November 1986, pp. 28-32.

This article stresses the necessity of the U.S. maintaining a strong military and economic presence in Southeast Asia because of this area's importance in projecting U.S. military forces, especially the 7th Fleet, and containing Soviet expansionism. The four main challenges to U.S. influence in this area are instability in the Philippines, trade policy with ASEAN nations, supporting ASEAN unity, and the Soviet military buildup in the area. The author concludes that if the U.S. maintains a strong presence in Southeast Asia, mainly through the influx of large amounts of aid and trade packages, the challenges can be overcome. But if the U.S. fails to take this role, the security and stability of all ASEAN nations will be in danger, resulting in a weakening of the U.S. position in the Pacific.

_____. "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in the Philippines." U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. S. Prt. 99-99, 99th Cong., 1st Sess., Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.

This is a well researched and comprehensive report prepared by the Congressional Research Service at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It provides an excellent analysis of the growth of the Philippine Communist insurgency. It focuses on the causes of this growth and profiles insurgent goals, tactics and strategy. Also described is the need for political and military reforms as part of a more comprehensive counterinsurgency program.

_____. "The Communist Party of the Philippines and the Aquino Government: Responding to the 'New Confrontation'." Washington, D.C.: The Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy, Inc., presented at a conference Crisis in the Philippines, April 30-May 1, 1986.

This report reviews the position of the CPP in the months after President Aquino assumed office. Although some mention is made of military activities of the NPA, the major focus is on the political response of the CPP to the unexpected victory of Aquino.

Olsen, Edward A., and Jurika, Stephen, eds. The Armed Forces in Contemporary Asian Societies. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986, pp. 215-240: "The Changing Role of the Philippine Military During Martial Law and the Implications for the Future," by William E. Berry, Jr.

The increased role of the military in domestic politics in the Philippines in the last decade is examined. As a result of Marcos declaring martial law in 1972, the military has become a primary means to exercise political power and thus play a very important role in the future of the Philippines. The article examines the rapid buildup of the Philippine military forces in the 1970's and concludes that the military must undergo reforms, but it must also remain strong so as to protect Philippine democracy from the NPA.

Othman, Khairyl Osny. "NPA Develops an Indigenous Style of Guerrilla Warfare." Asian Defence Journal, November 1985, pp. 115-116.

This is an analysis of the Philippine Communist insurgency and its Maoist model, and the differences between them. The article discusses the NPA's announcement that it will expand its structure to include urban areas, rather than work to isolate and surround them as Mao taught.

_____. "NPA a Greater Threat than Huk." Asian Defence Journal, October 1985, pp. 115-116.

This article compares the NPA to the Huk rebellion of the 1950's, and features comments from a former Huk commander. It concludes that the successful strategy employed against the Huks will not work well with the NPA.

Overholt, William H. "Land Reform in the Philippines." Asian Survey, Vol. 16, No. 5, May 1976, pp. 427-451.

This article analyzes the role of land reform in the Philippines. As Overholt notes, in the case of the Philippines, land reform has been attempted for political reasons; i.e., to avert revolution by creating rural stability. Overholt closely examines the institutions involved in land reform, and notes the historical social relationship between the large land owners and the peasant class. He believes the possibility of creating a land reform that promotes equality as well as productivity rests with the ability of the villages to generate sufficient political power and support.

_____. "The Rise and Fall of Ferdinand Marcos." Asian Survey, Vol. 26, No. 11, November 1986, pp. 1127-1163.

An excellent summarization of the events in the Philippines during the rule of Ferdinand Marcos. This essay provides a thorough background so that current events in the Philippines can be understood.

Pelaez, Emmanuel. "The Military Bases in the Philippines: The Past and the Future." Foreign Relations Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1986, pp. 1-40.

This is an examination of U.S. military bases in the Philippines from the perspective of a Filipino policymaker. A very thorough history of military bases in the Philippines is presented, followed by a list of the options that the Philippines have in determining the future of a U.S. military presence. Pelaez sees three options: dismantle the bases immediately, call for a national plebiscite, or allow the amended 1947 MBA to run its full term and then renegotiate. The first option has little support and could be disastrous for the Philippines economically. From the standpoint of national security, it would cause alienation from other American allies. The option of a national referendum would be positive only if it is in conjunction with the third option. The best procedure for the Philippines, in Pelaez's view, is to wait until the 1947 MBA with the United States runs out, renegotiate a more favorable agreement from the Filipino perspective, and then ensure popular support for a U.S. presence through a national referendum.

Pelayo, Nonnie L. "After Marcos, Problems Remain for the Military." Jane's Defence Weekly, March 1986, p. 428.

This review of the history and organization of the AFP describes numerous problems which will have to be overcome before an effective counterinsurgency program can be implemented.

Pineda, Rosalinda V. "The Church, Elections and Counterinsurgency." Philippine Currents (Quezon City), May 1987, pp. 9-11.

According to this article, the Catholic Church, under martial law, proved to be the greatest mobilizing force against the Marcos government. Both the left and the moderates prospered under it. Today, the political situation has changed in the sense that the Church is now one of the main supporters of the Aquino government.

Pons, Philippe. "Communists and Soldiers Watch Each Other with Distrust." Le Monde (Paris), December 12, 1986, p. 3. [JPRS-SEA-87-015, February 2, 1987, p. 43.]

This is a dispatch describing the role of the Church in Negros as an intermediary in bringing about a cease-fire. Specifically identified are former priests who are now active NPA members. It illustrates the NPA's short-term emphasis on armed struggle for political gain.

Poole, Fred and Vanzi, Max. Revolution in the Philippines: The United States in a Hall of Cracked Mirrors. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984.

This book, written before the "People Power" revolution, describes the future negative repercussions that the U.S. would experience as a result of its support of Ferdinand Marcos. The authors, using the first-hand experience that they acquired by living in the Philippines, believe that the Philippines will be the "next Iran" for American foreign policy. As a result of supporting martial law and helping to persecute exiles abroad, the authors believe that the U.S. has caused a rapid upsurge in popular support for the Philippine Communist movement. This misguided U.S. policy has led to instability in the region, thus creating fears that the Philippines, a nation of great strategic significance, is moving out of our realm of influence. This work is useful in that it shows where U.S. foreign policy failed in its dealings with the Philippines in the Marcos era, and can provide a guide for better relations in the future with the Aquino government.

Pressman, Steven. "Aquino on the Hill: Warm Words, Added Aid." Congressional Quarterly, Vol. 44, No. 38, September 20, 1986, p. 2186.

President Aquino's trip to the U.S. in September 1986 is described. The focus of the trip was her description of the serious financial problems in the Philippines and her requests for aid from the U.S. to help deal with these problems.

Pringle, Robert. Indonesia and the Philippines. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.

This study defines the scope and content of American national interests in Southeast Asia. It attempts to show the need for American foreign policy to establish concrete and long-lasting policies in Southeast Asia (without the specter of the old colonial relationships), instead of our traditional preoccupation with crisis management. In his chapters, Pringle analyzes six areas--political stability, the importance of U.S. bases, American economic interests, human rights policy, the developmental problems of Java, and crucial environmental concerns.

Quam, Jon. "Bureaucratic Corruption in the ASEAN Countries." Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, March 1979, pp. 153-177.

This article discusses corruption in Southeast Asian nations, its historical background, and measures taken to eliminate it. There is an appreciation of how corruption, as a political issue, can give rise to popular acceptance of the NPA.

Quiambao, Cecilia G. "U.S. study says military solution." Philippine News and Feature (Manila), October 5, 1987, p. 1.

The author believes that continuing U.S. pressure on President Aquino to adopt a more militarist approach is vital if the NPA is to be defeated in the field. It is the U.S. government's view that the AFP needs ground and

air mobility. For this reason, 665 trucks and 10 Huey helicopters were delivered. For Fiscal Year 1988, assistance requested by the White House rose to \$112 million. The Reagan administration has authorized a 10% increase in CIA personnel and a \$10 million budget for surveillance and covert actions.

"Ramos on NPA Arms 'Buying Spree' Abroad." Ang Pahayagang Malay (Quezon City). December 17, 1984, p. 6.

Comments attributed to LTG Fidel Ramos, acting military Chief of Staff, by the Philippine News Agency (PNA), to the effect that insurgents were buying arms abroad, but no particular country was supporting the NPA. Ramos accuses a Catholic priest, Father Luis Jaladoni, of being the NPA's chief purchaser abroad.

"Ramos to 'Hit Back Hard' Against NPA Attacks." Philippine News Agency (Manila). [FBIS-APA-86-181, September 18, 1986, p. P2-P3.]

This news article provides a limited explanation of the causes for an increase in NPA activity. It provides some insight into insurgent activity vis-a-vis President Aquino's efforts at reconciliation, and the effects of her military policy which restrain the military in its pursuit of the insurgents.

"Report Implies Troops Sell Weapons to NPA on Black Market." The Manila Paper, October 15, 1986. [FBIS-SEA-84-158, November 16, 1984, p. P2.]

An increase in "non-battle related losses" of weapons by the AFP is noted as possibly due to black market sales to the NPA. A rise in black market prices of weapons is also cited.

Richardson, Michael. "How Not to Mount a Counter-Insurgency Campaign." Pacific Defence Reporter, May 1982, p. 56.

A campaign to resettle peasants into "strategic hamlets" on Mindanao is described. The author concludes that the "resettlement was so badly planned and insensitively executed that it had alienated people, not won them over to the government side."

_____. "Insurgency in the Philippines. No. 2 - The Militia: Help or Hindrance." Pacific Defence Reporter, September 1985, p. 15.

The threat to the Marcos regime posed by the increasing strength of the NPA is the subject of this article by an experienced Australian journalist. Supporters are attracted to the NPA by the worsening economic situation and the excesses of a demoralized and politicized AFP. Unlike the Huk movement from which it grew, NPA leadership is drawn from educated and sophisticated urban radicals. The article is pessimistic about government prospects.

_____. "Mounting Threat in the Philippines. No 2 -- Armed Forces Have Many Weaknesses." Pacific Defence Reporter, July 1984, p. 10.

Despite an expansion in size, increasing politicization, low pay and morale, and corruption have seriously impaired the capability of the AFP to deal with the growing NPA insurgency. A lack of equipment and poor coordination with other government agencies also limits the effectiveness of counterinsurgency programs.

_____. "No Quick End to Insurgency in the Philippines." Pacific Defence Reporter, May 1986, pp. 7-8.

The article discusses the problems facing the Aquino government in persuading the Communist-led insurgents to end the armed struggle in the Philippines. It covers the preliminary discussions underway to start negotiations on a peace formula.

_____. "What role for the Philippine military?." Pacific Defence Reporter, September 1986, pp. 29-30.

During the Marcos years, the Philippine military and security forces became thoroughly politicized. This article discusses the debate within the country in the wake of the coup attempt in July of 1986 about removing the armed forces and constabulary from the political arena and raising their professional level.

Rosenberg, David R. "Communism in the Philippines." Problems of Communism, October 1984, pp. 24-46.

Rosenberg discusses the history of the Communist parties in the Philippines with emphasis on the development of the NPA. He compares the Philippine insurgency to Russian and Chinese styles of revolution, noting

its similarity to Maoist "People's War." Rosenberg also provides a brief history of the NPA and traces its major activities since 1968.

Rosenberg, David R. Revolution and Counter-Revolution in the Philippines. Paper presented to the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Chicago, Illinois, October 19, 1985.

A study comparing the current Communist insurgency in the Philippines with that of the Huk rebellion in the 1940's and 1950's. Rosenberg finds that the two major differences in these rebellions to be: (1) the CPP, NPA, and the NDF have been able to learn from history, which has resulted in fewer mistakes and better organization, and (2) the Marcos regime has not been able to win the "hearts and minds" of the general population because of the malignant corruption associated with the regime. The author concludes that armed insurgency has a chance to succeed in the Philippine future.

Rosenberger, Leif R. "Moscow and Philippine Communism." Problems of Communism, July-August 1985, pp. 84-86. Letter to the editor commenting on "Communism in the Philippines" by David Rosenberg in Problems of Communism in the September-October 1984 issue.

This letter to the editors of Problems in Communism presents evidence that the USSR is providing support to the CPP. Citing numerous sources in the Philippine press and elsewhere, the author argues that in recent years the USSR has assisted the CPP with propaganda and links to international organizations. The fact that these activities are not widely known is because both the CPSU and CPP bend over backward to obscure their links. The Soviets' primary objective in the Philippines is the removal of U.S. military bases.

_____. "Philippine Communism and the Soviet Union." Survey, Spring 1985, pp. 113-145.

A look at the two-pronged attack by Communist forces in the Philippines--the military struggle and the growing influence in the political realm. Rosenberger also makes a close examination of the various Communist factions--NPA, CPP, and the PKP--and their leadership, as well as identifying which group receives the most interest from the Soviet Union. By examining the internal workings of the Philippine Communist movement and the Soviet interests in the area, Rosenberger sees an opportunity for a stronger connection between the two Communist forces since the Filipino populace feels a strong sense of anti-Marcosism and anti-Americanism.

Roth, David F. "The Deterioration and Reconstruction of National Political Parameters: the Philippines During the 1970's." Asian Survey, Vol. 13, No. 9, September 1973, pp. 812-825.

Roth examines the reasons for the deterioration of the democratic political system in the Philippines, and how the failure of the political system to respond appropriately has led to problems throughout Filipino society. To deal with the growing problems, Marcos eliminated any opposition by creating an autocratic regime through martial law. This step by Marcos is viewed by the author to be a very daring manner in which to deal with the problems created by an inefficient and overly bureaucratic regime. Whether the "New Society" that is created in the Philippines under this authoritarian regime will be any better than the old one is problematic. But, as the author notes, "It cannot get worse for Juan de la Cruz."

Rush, James R. "Bringing Marcos Down: Part I: The Electoral Tradition." Universities Field Staff International, No. 3, 1986, pp. 1-7.

This article presents an electoral history of Philippine politics over the last 80 years. In this paper the author shows that the tradition of elections is deeply rooted in Filipino society. The concept of party politics has also taken firm root in Filipino society, but it has taken the form of a unique variation which gives personal leadership primacy over issues. The article examines trends in the Philippine electoral process and shows how the cherished tradition of elections placed Corazon Aquino in the presidency.

Saa'id, Shuhud. "The New Armed Forces of the Philippines." Asian Defence Journal, January 1987, p. 4.

A detailed description of major commanders and units of the AFP engaged in the counterinsurgency program is presented along with several statements by senior AFP commanders urging soldiers to respect the rights of civilians.

Sacerdoti, Guy. "Fighting the rebels with slide shows and guns." Far Eastern Economic Review, November 21, 1985, pp. 58-59.

This article discusses the counterinsurgency capabilities of the AFP. A major problem is lack of equipment; helicopters in particular.

_____. "Her House in Order." Far Eastern Economic Review, March 20, 1986, pp. 14-15.

This article discusses the challenges President Aquino faces in bringing about reforms and dealing with the assorted demands of the CPP. Also examined is the struggle within the ranks of the CPP and the reassessment of its decision to boycott the presidential elections.

_____. "Reds See Their Missed Chances." Far Eastern Economic Review, June 12, 1986, pp. 45-46.

This article describes the CPP's policy reevaluation in response to the assumption of power by the Aquino government. CPP goals are to "reestablish clear leadership over the political struggle." NPA doctrine will stress an "active defense."

Sacerdoti, Guy, and Bowring, Philip. "Marx, Mao and Marcos." Far Eastern Economic Review, November 21, 1985, pp. 52-62.

This article examines the rapid growth of Communist insurgency in the Philippines which has resulted from the reaction of the people to the corruption of the Marcos regime. This article explains the recent growth of the Philippine Left, both in the military sector (the NPA) and in the political sector (the CPP and the NDF). It is an excellent presentation of the multi-pronged insurgency movement by the Filipino Left.

Sacerdoti, Guy and Buruma, Ian. "From Huks and Maoists into a 'Filipinised' party." Far Eastern Economic Review, November 21, 1985, pp. 56-57.

This article gives a "thumbnail sketch" of how the CPP has evolved. It mentions Jose Maria Sison as one whose philosophy has shaped that of the CPP.

San Juan, Epifanio. Crisis in the Philippines: The Making of a Revolution. South Hadley, Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey Publishers, Inc., 1986.

This book gives an insider's view of the political turmoil that has grown in the Philippines in response to the Marcos regime. The author is the leading Marxist theoretician in the Philippine liberation movement, so events are portrayed in a very single-minded, anti-American light. He dramatically portrays the Filipino people's struggle for self-determination and the activities and growth of the NPA, and analyzes the global policy of the United States. His criticism of the U.S. is best summarized in the preface, when he takes an old quote of George Kennan's and places it at the cornerstone of present U.S. policy in the Philippines: "We should cease to talk about vague and--for the Far East--unreal objections such as human rights, the raising of living standards, and democratization. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight power concepts. The less we are hampered by idealistic slogans, the better." This book is especially useful because it presents the Philippine situation from the perspective of a Marxist revolutionary.

Sarmiento, Juan V., Jr. "Ileto turns around, says copters can crush NPA." Philippine News and Feature (Manila), July 27, 1987, pp. 1-2.

In an interview on July 13th with the U.S. military newspaper Pacific Stars and Stripes, Secretary Ileto claims that the insurgency problem can be solved in six months if the U.S. government provides the AFP with more helicopters. This statement appears to be politically motivated by President Aquino's promise to defeat the NPA before 1992.

"Says AFP Can 'Finish' Insurgency." Kyodo (Tokyo), September 2, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-169, September 2, 1986, p. P3.]

Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile explains his views on how the Aquino government should deal with insurgency in the Philippines.

Scott, Margaret. "The Mood in Mindanao." Far Eastern Economic Review, January 30, 1986, pp. 12-13.

An informative report on attitudes of Filipinos in Mindanao and conditions during the 1986 presidential campaign. Attention is given to NPA attacks and AFP counterinsurgency efforts in various parts of Mindanao. Concern is expressed that political solutions may no longer be possible because of the NPA threat.

"Senate Orders Investigation." Philippine Daily Globe (Manila). [FBIS-EAS, February 17, 1988, p. 47.]

Suggestions by Ambassador to the Soviet Union, A.C. Melchor, that an external military group conduct a management audit of the Armed Forces of the Philippines is viewed as a serious act of impudence and indiscretion. This may be an attempt by factions of the Aquino government to test the degree of support for the status quo of the AFP by the newly elected legislative bodies of the government as well as an initiative to gain further control over the AFP.

Shalom, Stephen Roskamm. The United States and the Philippines: A Study of Neocolonialism. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1981.

This book analyzes the relationship of the United States and the Philippines from MacArthur's return in 1944 up to 1981, the latter part of the Marcos martial law era. The author's thesis is that the U.S. "neocolonialism" in the Philippines has been perpetuated through an alliance between U.S. business and government, and the Philippine political and economic elites. Shalom contends that the United States has been allowed to exploit the Philippines economically and strategically for its own interests because the relationship is extremely profitable to the narrow elite which constitutes the Philippine oligarchy. The book is well documented, with extensive use of U.S. government sources and provides an interesting alternative perspective on U.S.-Philippine relations.

Shaplen, Robert. "A Reporter at Large--From Marcos to Aquino - I." The New Yorker, Vol. 62, No. 27, August 25, 1986, pp. 33-73.

A careful study of the various social groups in the Philippines and how their dissatisfaction with Marcos led to his ouster and the elevation of the popular leader, Cory Aquino, to the presidency of the Philippines. Now, after gaining power, Aquino still faces the gigantic task of solving political-economic problems in a manner that will satisfy all of the various groups in Philippine society. This article identifies the groups which are influencing policymaking decisions.

"A Reporter at Large--From Marcos to Aquino - II." The New Yorker, Vol. 62, No. 28, September 1, 1986, pp. 36-64.

The second part of Shaplen's article continues the description of Aquino's takeover of power and how she is dealing with the various political forces in the Philippines. Both parts of this article provide an excellent picture of recent events and their impact on the evolutionary development of the Aquino government.

Sicam, Paulynn. "CPP to Side with Aquino Against Military Coup." The Manila Chronicle (Manila), November 12, 1986.

NPA/CPP leaders express support for Aquino and oppose any coup at this time.

Sigur, Gaston J., Jr. "U.S. Security Interests in the Philippines." Department of State Bulletin, June 1986, p. 41.

These remarks by the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs before a subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee state the Reagan administration policies with respect to the bases in the Philippines and affirm support for the Aquino government.

Singh, Jasjit. "U.S. Military Bases in the Philippines: Shifting Patterns and Strategies." Strategic Analysis, Vol. 10, No. 2, May 1986, pp. 165-173.

An intricate analysis of the role that the Philippines plays in U.S. military strategy. Although some critics claim that Philippine bases are not needed in the nuclear age of warfare, the author argues differently, citing the U.S. commitment to a 600-ship navy and a forward defense system. Without the naval bases in the Philippines the recently created CENTCOM strategy will be made more difficult due to an increase in the

military presence of both superpowers in the Indian Ocean, thus causing greater instability in the region. Singh argues that the United States must attempt to retain its military presence in the Philippines so as to avoid greater instability in the region.

Sinogco, Marietta. "Senior Military Official Defends Alsa Masa." Philippine Daily Globe (Manila), April 28, 1988, p. 3. [FBIS-EAS-88-084, May 2, 1988, p. 46.]

This article cites arguments given supporting Alsa Masa in response to Senate criticism. LTC Franco M. Calida, known as the "Godfather of the Alsa Masa" defended the movement as a "spontaneous reaction of people against the communists."

Smith, Roger M., ed. Southeast Asia: Documents of Political Development and Change. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974.

An analysis of the tension that was beginning to develop in the Philippines in the middle of the 1970's. Using primary source material from Ferdinand Marcos and Teodoro Locsin, this article shows that the growing discontent of the Filipino people is reaching a stage where the stability of the regime is uncertain. This article traces the growth of the instability from the Huk rebellion to its present incarnation in Jose Sison and the Leftist movement. By viewing the problems of the Philippines in the 1970's through the controversial documents of that period, one can gain a much better understanding of the events of 1986.

Smolowe, Jill. "Inside the Communist Insurgency." Time, Vol. 127, No. 5, February 3, 1986, pp. 36-37.

This article presents an excellent look at the Philippine Communist rebels and what they hope to achieve. The NPA bases its plans on Maoist theory, which sees three stages to a revolution: "strategic defensive," the time when Communist support is built; "strategic stalemate," the time when insurgents are at equal power with government troops; and "strategic offensive," the time when insurgents gain the upper hand. The insurgents now believe that they are at the end of the first stage. Smolowe believes that the NPA must be stopped by an increased military response coupled with a series of economic reforms which would remove support for the Communist insurgents.

"Soviet Arms in Mindinao." Manila Bulletin (Manila), August 21, 1986, pp. 1,3.

This article contains separate reports of evidence of external support for the NPA. NPA and MNLF forces operating in Southern Philippines received Soviet-made heavy caliber guns last March. The weapons were landed in Mindinao, according to Brig. General Esmael Musico, Chief of AFP Intelligence.

Sturtevant, David R. Popular Uprisings in the Philippines 1840-1940. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976.

An examination of peasant uprising in the Philippines from a historical perspective. The author identifies the peasant rebellions over a hundred year period of Filipino history and shows that the origins of these movements were in the profound tensions within Filipino society, not in the economic conditions. This unusual interpretation of Philippine radicalism centers its focus on the transition of these various movements from mysticism and supernaturalism to relative political sophistication. This book provides a unique look at the causes of Filipino radicalism, thus making it a useful tool in examining the Communist movement today.

Sullivan, William H. "Relocating Bases in the Philippines." The Washington Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 2, Spring 1984, pp. 114-119.

The author, formerly U.S. ambassador to the Philippines when the first bases agreement was negotiated, presents a clear review of the importance of the bases to the stability of the region. He examines the several alternative locations which have been proposed and describes the geographical, political and economic factors which characterize them. None of the alternative sites present a viable alternative to the facilities currently used in the Philippines.

Suter, Keith D. "The Current Military Situation in the Philippines." The Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defense Studies, Vol. 131, No. 3, September 1986, pp. 43-48.

A general analysis of the problems facing the Aquino regime and what measures can be taken in order to solve them. Many experts have labelled the Philippines as the next "Vietnam" or "Iran" for the United States, but Suter believes that the situation is not that gloomy and that the Filipinos will once again regain their vitality. He believes that economic reforms will be able to fix the problems created by Marcos, and Mrs. Aquino has the popularity and intelligence (similar to that of Magsaysay) needed to defeat the threat posed by Communist insurgency.

Suter, Keith D. "The New Government in the Philippines." Contemporary Review, May 1986, p. 225.

The author presents an overview of the political situation in the Philippines from the last days of the Marcos regime into the early period after President Aquino assumed power.

Szaz, Z. Michael. "The Philippines Under Marcos." Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies, Vol. 10, No. 3, Fall 1985, pp. 305-322.

A general background article on the history of the Philippines from its colonial period to the later years of the Marcos regime. A thorough rendition of the martial law period is presented as well as the historical development of indigenous opposition to Marcos' rule. The article provides limited analysis, but does a thorough job of presenting recent Filipino political history.

Tan, Abby. "Another Vietnam." Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), September 14, 1984, p. 9. [FBIS-JPRS-SEA-86-149, October 29, 1984, p. P9.]

A useful summary of the history of the NPA and the reasons for its success.

Tapales, Proserpina Domingo. Assessing Authoritarian Rule on the Philippine Government: What Efficiency? What Accountability?. Paper presented to the Mid-Atlantic Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, Washington, D.C., October 25-27, 1985.

This paper concludes that the authoritarian rule of Philippine government on society, which was brought about by martial law, has done little to justify itself. Though innovations were brought about much quicker under martial law, all the benefits were lost because the changes catered to the personal whims of the ruling elite.

Tarr, Peter. "Aquino's First Year." The Nation, Vol. 244, No. 22, March 21, 1987, pp. 353-357.

Tarr takes a critical look at Aquino's first year in office and finds it less successful than do many American observers. In Tarr's opinion, Aquino's government is not occupying the moral high ground that is generally believed--a failed attempt in maintaining the peace talks, no reform of the military, and the cost of fighting a civil war has limited the extent to which economic reforms may be implemented. The author believes that Aquino must negotiate with the rebellious groups since the failure of the peace process has pushed the belligerent parties deeper into their ideological stances, resulting in a greater loss of life and further impoverishment of the nation. Aquino, in Tarr's belief, must be willing to make concessions or else her administration's modest chance to make meaningful changes will be severely jeopardized.

Tasker, Rodney. "Down But Not Out." Far Eastern Economic Review, October 23, 1986, pp. 18-19.

A chief Communist theorist and original founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), Jose Maria Sison expresses his perceptions of the AFP's weaknesses, and the strengths and tactics of the NPA. Aquino's ties to the AFP and the United States are questioned and the resolve of the CPP to continue its resistance is confirmed.

_____. "Rejoice...and Regroup." Far Eastern Economic Review, December 25, 1986, pp. 11-13.

During the 60-day cease-fire the NDF/NPA have sought political gains through propaganda efforts and military shows of strength. Government forces have announced civic action and military training programs under the new Minister of Defense, Ilto. Both sides assume that fighting will be renewed.

Tasker, Rodney. "To the Left, March!." Far Eastern Economic Review. December 18, 1986, pp. 13-14.

An analysis of the effects of the cease-fire indicates that the NDF and the government of the Philippines are engaged in a "propaganda war" which the Communists are seen as winning. The cease-fire has enhanced the image of the insurgents and provided them with a forum for their demands. The prospects for a lasting end of the fighting are seen as dim.

Tatad, Francisco S. "Here and Now." Business Day (Manila). January 23, 1985, p. 4.

This article discusses questions regarding the NPA insurgency and the government's inability to come up with a social and political program to counter it.

Terew, Oliver. "NDF Statement 'Welcomes' Enrile's Departure." Kyodo (Tokyo). November 23, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-226, November 24, 1986, p. P5.]

This is an explanation of the reaction of NDF officials to changes in Aquino's cabinet, specifically the acceptance of Defense Minister Enrile's resignation. It contains a response to Aquino's criticism of delays in cease-fire talks, and expresses the NDF's lingering concerns about military influence in the Aquino government.

"A Terror Strikes at the Top." Asia Week (Hong Kong), August 16, 1987, pp. 12-14.

This article examines the assassination of Cabinet Minister Jamie Ferrer and discusses difficulties that authorities have in combatting growing lawlessness. In recent weeks there has been a series of killings of policemen and soldiers by the sparrow assassination units of the NPA. At least 20 Metro-Manila police officers have been killed since January. The business community is also concerned about the violence. Aurelio Periquet, President of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry, is worried that investors may reconsider their Philippine investments. Industrialist Raul Concepcion fears the killings could expand to the business community.

"Text' of NDF July Memorandum on Cease Fire." The New Philippines Daily Express (Manila), November 28, 1986, p. 7. [FBIS-APA-86-231, December 2, 1986, pp. P7-10.]

This is the text of a memorandum, drawn up between the National Urban Committee and the United Front Commission, forming the National Democratic Front in July 1986. It outlines 12 basic objectives of the organization, to include NDF policies and tactics.

Thomas, James C., Jr., Stanley, Peter W., and Perry, John Curtis. Sentimental Imperialists: The American Experience in East Asia. New York: Harper and Row, 1981.

This book provides excellent background material for understanding American actions and interests in the Far East. The three authors interpret relations between the U.S. and Eastern civilizations (including the Philippines, China, Vietnam, Korea, etc.) and show the trends and dynamic changes that have characterized these relationships. The excellent research done by these authors provides the reader with a frame of reference when viewing current events in East Asia, as well as the possible developments in U.S.-East Asian relations in the near future.

Tuazon, Bobby. "Latest AFP Offensive Signals Effort to Decisively Crush Bicol NPA." Philippine News (Manila), October 5, 1987, pp. 3-4.

According to the author, peasants have been told to join right-wing vigilante groups or risk being accused of being NPA sympathizers. Some who refused to join were reported killed.

Turpin, James Alexander. "New Society's Challenge in the Philippines." Conflict Studies. No. 122, September 1980, pp. 1-23.

This brief study examines the "New Society" that Marcos created in the Philippines through martial law and his policy of dictatorial rule. Turpin looks at the stability and success of this system by examining the positives (such as the economic growth in the 1970's) and the negatives (such as insurgency and Muslim separatism). This study is useful today because it offers a clear picture of how the negative aspects of the "New Society" overwhelmed the positive aspects and led to the destruction of the Marcos regime.

"The United States and The Philippines: An Interview with Ambassador Paul D. Wolfowitz." The Fletcher Forum. Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer 1986, pp. 191-202.

This interview asks what the American policy in the Philippines is now that Cory Aquino is president. The Ambassador answers that our policy would remain basically the same as it was prior to the election of 1986, since our desire still exists for an independent, democratic Philippines that retains close ties with the U.S. Now that Aquino is president, the U.S. will willingly support her since she seems the best hope for a stable and democratic Philippines. The rest of the interview deals with other important and specific issues, such as the threat posed by the NPA, how U.S. policy was determined, and what Aquino can do to resolve Filipino problems. This useful article provides answers to specific questions about the Philippine situation.

U.S. Congress. Situation in the Philippines and Implications for U.S. Policy. 98th Cong., 2nd Sess., Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.

Statements by diplomats and DOD and AID officials considering, in part, the internal security posture of the Philippine government with emphasis on the Communist insurgency and the effect on U.S. aid objectives for the Philippines.

. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Assessing America's Options in the Philippines. 99th Congress, 2nd Sess., Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986.

A group discussion on what the possible prospects are for the post-election period in the Philippines, and the question of whether either candidate will have the ability to create stability in the Philippines afterward. Statements are also made concerning the economic crises and Communist insurgency which loom following the election. The U.S. military and strategic interests in the Philippines are discussed and examined, as well as placed into the context of the question of what the United States can do policy-wise to protect these interests.

. House. U.S.-Philippines Relations and the New Bases and Aid Agreement. H381-94. 98th Cong., 1st Sess., Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983.

These transcripts of hearings assess the significance of U.S. bases in the Philippines and internal conditions. Among the statements presented are overviews of the various insurgent movements and an assessment of political opposition, including the Communist insurgents.

. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. A Staff Report Prepared for the Committee on Foreign Relations Visit to the Philippines-- August 2-5, 1985. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986.

This is an excellent discussion of Marcos' ailing government and NPA opportunism. The effects of NPA actions, Marcos' use of the AFP, the political advantages gained by the CPP and the NPA, and the role of the media are specifically noted. The report postulates that economic changes could stem the growth of the NPA.

. Senate. Select Committee on Intelligence. "The Philippines. A Situation Report." Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, October 31, 1985.

This report was issued in the fall of 1985, following a month long staff visit to the region in August 1985. The thrust of the report is that the AFP is unable to deal with the growing insurgency and that this represents a threat to U.S. interests, especially regarding bases at Clark Field and Subic Bay. While somewhat dated, the report contains useful information on the insurgency and the economy.

. Senate. Situation in the Philippines. 98th Congress, 2nd Sess., S. Prt. 98-237. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984.

This is a staff report prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee based on study missions during a 91-day period in the Philippines in May, June, and July 1984. While the general intent was to assess the political situation existing then, the implications of the NPA insurgency were examined in a separate chapter (Ch. III). In a series of four charts, basic but helpful information on NPA organization, strategy, tactics, and propaganda themes is presented.

Senate. "U.S. Policy Toward the Philippines." 97th Congress, 1st Sess., Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, November 1981.

Transcript of hearings before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs and the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations to consider political and internal security conditions in the Philippines and the implications for U.S. policy. Certain statements provide valuable comment and analysis on the deteriorating government position in military campaigns against Communist insurgents in Mindanao.

"Under Fire From All Sides." Asia Week (Hong Kong), October 2, 1987, pp. 15-16.

According to this article, President Aquino, who is under siege from the left and right, is now in danger of losing the middle ground. To many Filipinos, the climate of confusion and violence has intensified. Among the examples of the government's inability to deal with any number of situations are the following: inability to solve murders of leftist leader Alejandro and local government Secretary Ferrei, not being able to capture mutiny leader Colonel Honason, and increasing boldness of the guerrillas.

Valmoria, Jr., C. "Aquino Pushes AFP Pay Bill." Manila Bulletin (Manila), September 15, 1987, pp. 1-9.

President Aquino has formally asked Congress to enact a law establishing new rates of pay for officers and enlisted men on active service with the AFP. This article details her proposal.

Van der Kroef, Justus M. "Philippine Communist Theory and Strategy: A New Departure?" Pacific Affairs, Vol. 48, No. 2, Summer 1975, pp. 181-198.

An article which shows the growing number of options that the Communist movement had in the middle of the 1970's when Marcos' regime began to lose its stability. Not only did the Communist's military arm, the NPA, enjoy an increase in its armed forces, but the political organizations of the NDF and the PKP were growing in importance and influencing the decisionmaking of President Marcos. The author finds that during the middle of the 1970's, the Philippine Communists were enjoying a period of great prosperity and success in cultivating popular support. Van der Kroef even fears that as a result of the growing Communist power, the Philippines might be gradually aligning with the socialist powers and away from the United States.

"The Philippines of Aquino. The Long Morning After." World Affairs Vol. 148, No. 3, Winter 1985-1986, pp. 139-150.

A thoughtful analysis of the problems that lie ahead for Mrs. Aquino, now that the popular revolution has given her power. This article reveals that there are major issues to confront in the Philippines, such as national reconstruction and stabilizing governmental power, after the euphoria of revolution has died away.

Warner, Denis. "Insurgency in the Philippines. No 1-- Deterioration Marked. Widespread and Demonstrable." Pacific Defence Reporter, September 1985, p. 10.

The Civilian Home Defense Force (CHDF) comprised of underpaid, ill-trained and undisciplined armed civilians is seen to be of more value to the NPA than to the Philippine government which created it. Abuses by the CHDF alienate the population and CHDF arms are often captured by the NPA. This article describes CHDF abuses and presents comments about them by church and military leaders.

"Mounting Threat in the Philippines. No 1 --NPA Exploits Social, Economic and Political Injustices." Pacific Defence Reporter, July 1984, p. 6.

An article by a knowledgeable Australian detailing the growth of the NPA in response to the abuses of the Marcos regime and the AFP.

Wieser, Beat U. "Trouble in the Philippines." Swiss Review of World Affairs, August 1983, p. 7.

A Swiss journalist describes his visit to an NPA camp in Negros and discussions with peasants in the surrounding area. The article describes the motivation of some of the NPA guerrillas, and the relationship between the guerrillas and the peasants.

Woods, Brett F. "A Portrait of Communist Insurgency." Army, June 1985, p. 50.

This analysis of the insurgency in the Philippines follows the three-phase Maoist model. While providing some interesting descriptions of tactics used by the NPA to gain influence in the countryside, the article provides no new insights.

Young, P. Lewis. "The Future of U.S. Bases in Asia--Part 1: The Philippines." Asian Defence Journal, December 1986, p. 20.

This article presents a brief analysis of the military and political situation in the Philippines shortly after the Aquino government assumed power. The long-term future of U.S. bases is discussed only briefly.

Youngblood, Robert L. "Church-military relations in the Philippines." Australian Outlook, 35(3), December 1981, pp. 250-261.

During martial law in the Philippines (September 1972-January 1981), church-military relations were marked by periodic tension. At the root of the conflict was the national security mission of the armed forces versus the social justice mission of the churches. Thus military abuses ranging from allegations of graft and corruption by generals and petty extortion and bribery by lower ranking officers and enlisted men to the torture of political detainees and killings by military "liquidation squads" in rural areas drew sharp criticism from religious officials, while church social action programs among the poor were labeled "subversive" by the military. This article outlines the basis of the social justice thrust of the Catholic and Protestant Churches in the Philippines and presents an analysis of 13 major military raids on church institutions between 1972 and 1978. The common denominator in all of the raids was church criticism of the military and church social action work among the poor. Although the military recognized the right of church officials to speak out against military abuses and misconduct, the military was unable to police itself thoroughly and remained suspicious of church social justice activities. In such a climate, continued church-military conflict was predicted.

_____. "Structural imperialism. An analysis of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines." Comparative Political Studies 15(1), April 1982, pp. 29-56.

Part of the "common core" of ideas that make up dependency theory is the importance of elite relationships, yet few empirical studies in the dependency literature focus on elite behavior. This article examines three conditions derived from Galtung's structural imperialism model with respect to the Catholic Bishops' Conference.

_____. "The Philippines in 1982: Marcos gets tough with domestic critics." Asian Survey 23(2), February 1983, pp. 208-216.

This article describes a program to establish "strategic hamlets" in Mindanao.

Zich, Arthur. "600 Rebels Killed in NPA Purge of Zombies." Business Day (Manila). [FBIS-APA-86-197, October 9, 1986, p. P3.]

This story raises the question of the quality of NPA intelligence and leadership, and the effectiveness of the AFP deep penetration agents. Considering the source of the story, and the scarcity of any corroboration, this may be a case of disinformation.

_____. "The Marcos Era." The Wilson Quarterly, Vol. 10, No. 3, Summer 1986, pp. 34-40.

This article outlines Marco's rise to power, how he maintained his power, and the policies he initiated in the Philippines. It presents in a clear and historical manner the policies of Marcos that led the Philippines to the brink of collapse. This article provides useful insights into the historical context of the problems facing Mrs. Aquino.

PART II

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